

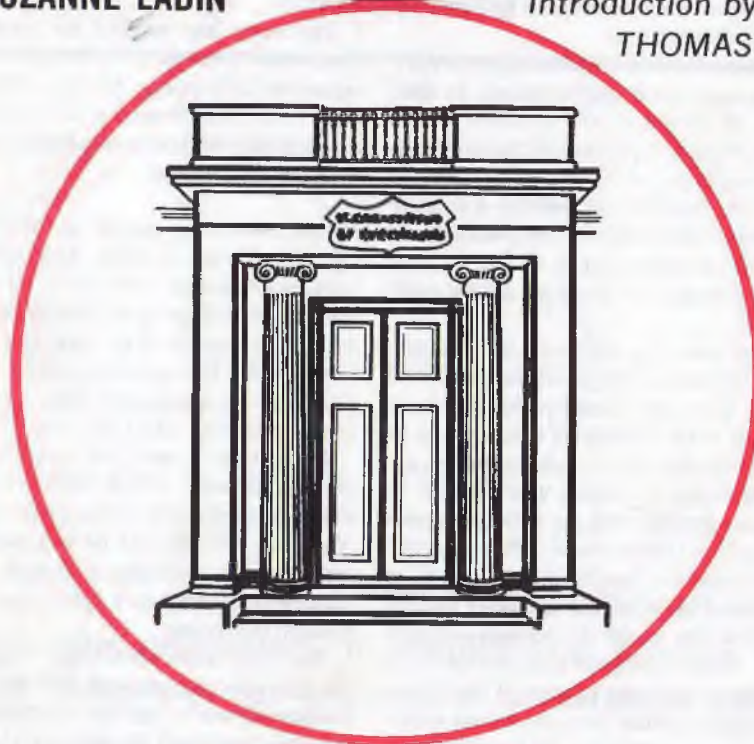
EMBASSIES OF SUBVERSION

PRICE 50¢



by **SUZANNE LABIN**

Introduction by
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AMERICAN AFRO-ASIAN EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE, INC.

IN SEPTEMBER, 1957, a group of distinguished Americans met to discuss ways and means of stimulating greater understanding between the peoples of the independent nations of Asia and the United States. To be sure, there were several existing cultural organizations dedicated to this general end. However, no non-governmental group was in being that concentrated on creating the mutual trust and understanding necessary to strengthen a united front against an enemy endangering both the freedom and security of Asia and the United States—international Communism—as represented in Asia by Communist China and its agents in all the countries of that continent.

The American-Asian Educational Exchange (AAEE) was organized to promote such understanding. In their original Statement of Purposes, the founders of the AAEE stated that the major purpose of the organization was "... the exchange of information, literature and personnel for the purposes of creating a broader understanding between the peoples of the United States and the independent nations of Asia insofar as they refer to our common struggle for freedom against totalitarian oppression."

In the months and years that followed—with the support of thousands of private individuals in the United States and the Far East—the American-Asian Educational Exchange has made substantial contributions in both the United States and Asia. It has commissioned, published and distributed a considerable number of pamphlets and books dealing with the anti-Communist struggle in Asia and the United States. Through translation into fifteen languages, hundreds of thousands of copies of this material were made available in the Far East and throughout the world. In cooperation with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), the AAEE was able to bring the peoples of the United States and Asia closer together through mutual understanding of our common aspirations and, most important, of our common enemy—international Communism. The AAEE was also able to act, in effect, as an international clearing-house of anti-Communist information—a clearing-house which did not exist prior to our formation.

SINCE the end of World War II, the continent of Africa has become a force with which to be reckoned. In 1953, there were only four independent nations in Africa. Today, there are 28 independent states—all represented in the United Nations.

The international Communist conspiracy has exerted—and continues to exert—every effort to infiltrate and take over these newly independent states. The United States and its allies—representing the anti-Communist forces—have been put on the defensive. All through Africa, the Communists and their agents are forging ahead.

The world has watched the attempt to crush anti-Communist Katanga in the Congo, utilizing American-supported U.N. troops. Southern Rhodesia seems to be next. Thus, the militant anti-Communist forces in Africa are subdued—with the active help of those nations which have the most to lose.

THE AMERICAN people are woefully ignorant and misinformed on Africa. Many of the existing organizations concerned with Africa are either sympathetic to Communist plans or fall into the same fallacies which, when implemented in the past, lost half of Asia to the Free World. The anti-Communist leaders of Africa—and there are many—find little American support for their aspirations. They feel they are fighting alone.

In an effort to meet this situation—and after lengthy discussions with AAEE Directors, Asian Advisory Board members and various anti-Communist leaders in Africa—it was decided to broaden the scope of the organization's activities to include Africa. Thus, the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange was brought into being.

The American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange has taken on a great responsibility. The extent of the Exchange's work—and the contributions it can make to the anti-Communist struggle—are dependent on the support it receives from the American people. We hope that all who read this will see fit to step forward and join in providing the financial wherewithal to carry on the program of the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange.

Introduction

The American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange is grateful for the opportunity to publish and circulate the English translation of *"Embassies for Subversion"* by Suzanne Labin.

This essay was drafted shortly after the recognition of Red China by France. It was during this period that France expected all good things to flow from such recognition: greatly increased trade and renewed French influence in the Far East.

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The essay was completed and published in France when these great expectations were beginning to fade. The increase in trade was minimal. Whatever renewed "influence" France might have gained in the Far East was dissipated by the increased Red Chinese activities in Africa — particularly in France's former African colonies. The Communist Chinese "embassies of subversion" in Africa were doing their work well — fermenting armed rebellion; infiltrating all sections of government; spreading pro-Communist propaganda; stopping at nothing — including assassination.

An article in the *New York Times* on September 27, 1964 — just eight months after France formally established diplomatic relations with Red China — is particularly revealing. The article, written by Seymour Topping, and headlined "France Disappointed at Relations with Red China" is worth quoting in part:

"Qualified sources said this week that France was disappointed by the slowness of the development of her relations with Communist China.

"According to these sources, Lucien Paye, the French Ambassador in Peking, has been unable to gain any special access to the Chinese Communist leadership.

"The de Gaulle Government had hoped, when diplomatic relations were established last January, to open a continuing diplomatic dialogue on such foreign-policy issues as neutralization of the Indochinese states.

"Since the arrival of Ambassador Paye in Peking May 27, a number of conversations have taken place between French diplomats and Chinese Communist officials in which the question of Vietnam was raised.

"Peking officials, however, merely restated their publicly-enunciated views and evinced no support of President de Gaulle's proposal for neutralization of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

"It was understood that during one conversation General de Gaulle's suggestion that North Vietnam as well as South Vietnam should be neutralized was rebuffed. The French were told that such an idea could not be entertained since North Vietnam was a member of the 'socialist camp.'

"Despite this discouraging response to the French diplomatic sounding, the de Gaulle Government has continued to press for the reconvening of the Geneva conference to bring about neutralization of the Indochinese states.

"Ideologically the Chinese Communist party has classified France as a nation of the "intermediate zone."

"The countries embraced in what Peking defines as the intermediate zone are those non-Communist nations free of strong United States influence that can be used to split what is termed the "imperialist camp" or formed into an anti-United States front.

"Recent propaganda of the Asian Communists has portrayed France as challenging United States policy, especially in Southeast Asia and in Latin America.

"While Communist China has benefitted from the prestige of French diplomatic recognition and Paris support for its admission into the United Nations and other international organizations, there is little to indicate that the de Gaulle Government has received much in return."

Mme. Labin has cited specific examples of Communist embassies which were established primarily to carry out various subversive activities in the host countries aimed at preparing them for ultimate Communist take-over. These examples should be studied carefully by all Americans and, indeed, people from all the nations who cherish freedom. In particular, this essay should be read by those in our country and abroad who urge diplomatic recognition of Communist China on the grounds that such recognition might somehow help to reform the Peiping regime. The experience of those nations who have recognized Communist Red China belies their hopes.

Mme. Labin brings a wealth of research and personal knowledge to her subject. She is the author of several major works, including *"Stalin the Terrible,"* an analysis of Soviet Russia under Stalin; *"The Anthill,"* a discussion of conditions in Communist China, based on dozens of personal interviews with Chinese refugees; and *"Competition, USSR/USA,"* a detailed and exhaustive compilation of comparative cultural, economic and military achievements in Soviet Russia and the United States. Her most recent book, based on personal on-the-spot observation of the November, 1963 military coup, which resulted in the murder of President Ngo Dinh Diem, is *"Vietnam: An Eyewitness*

Account". Best known of her United States publications is a pamphlet "The Techniques of Soviet Propaganda," which was originally published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and subsequently reprinted by the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange. Some 350,000 copies were circulated in the United States and abroad.

We are grateful to Mr. Lee J. Adamson of Bellingham, Washington who edited Mme. Labin's manuscript and, of course, to Mme. Labin for permission to publish her study.

February, 1965
Washington, D.C.

Thomas J. Dodd, U.S.S.
Vice-Chairman
American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange

Recognition of Peking is not recognition of the Chinese people, but of Communism

From dawn to dusk, and from North to South, one *leitmotif* resounded in France during the campaign launched to justify the recognition of the Communist rule of Peking: "We cannot ignore six hundred million Chinese."

This statement alone seemed adequate to resolve all doubts; yet on analysis, what a total blunder! When dealing with a representative government, to ignore the State is truly to ignore the Nation, as the State is the rule more or less desired by the Nation. But in the case of a people bowed under a totalitarian regime there is a fundamental antagonism between the people and the government; an antagonism which, in the case of China, borders on a spontaneous underground civil war.

Thus, it is by withholding recognition from the rulers of Peking that we express solicitude for the six hundred million Chinese. It is precisely by recognition of Peking that we ignore the Chinese people; their chains, their suffering, and their yearning to throw off the yoke of tyranny.

Assent to tyrants is inevitably denial of the tyrannized — and the oppressed feel it in their hearts. Surely, on the night of January 27, 1964, following France's recognition of Red China, at least five hundred ninety million Chinese retired in deepened desperation, recognizing that their oppressors had gained additional favor in one of the free nations of the West. How many Soviet refugees, during the Stalin era, related their feeling that each agreement, concluded by our governments with their slave masters, was regarded as another stab in the back!

Realism or Capitulation?

Another overriding theme in the campaign for French recognition of Peking was the "realism" proclaimed as the primary motivation of the French government; but if the meaning of the term is explored, it signifies no more than "to account for realities" in political conduct. It in no way requires the acceptance of the realities; on the contrary, it may well indicate the advisability of opposition to them. In 1940, Hitler's victory over France was certainly a reality, but did General de Gaulle accept it? No! He, in common with all patriotic Frenchmen, believed fervently that this reality should be eliminated; not consecrated.

The Fourth Republic was also a reality; sufficiently so for General de Gaulle to designate it as "the system." And yet, de Gaulle refused for eleven years to recognize this reality, in the sense of accepting it, until he was able to sweep it away. He would have continued to fight it as long as either he or "the system" survived. To whomever might have advised him to capitulate in the name of "realism", during this protracted and implacable opposition, he would have superbly responded that the word was offered as a camouflage for cowardice; signifying a surrender to reality, rather than an awakening to reality.

Ignoring Internal Opposition

But, we are asked, is not the struggle against the reality of Chinese Communism more hopeless than was the fight against Hitler and the Fourth Republic?

No! Resistance to Mao will become utopian only if those who should support it — at least morally — instead desert it. And it is vitally necessary that these supporters include all free men, not only the Chinese on Taiwan. Confronted with Communism, a united scourge on a global scale, resistance must be also united globally. What a tragic error to consider that, when Communism plunges its knife into a certain nation, the obligation to resist devolves solely upon the people who inhabit its territory! Totalitarianism never directs its attacks on a single nation, but against liberty, the least di-

visible of all Causes. Where would the French be today if the English-speaking people had not understood this when France lay crushed by Nazism, another united global scourge?

In order to deliver China from Communist oppression, it is not in the least necessary that the Free World take up arms, as it did to deliver France from the Nazis, for after its defeat France had lost all her military power except for some sparse and scattered forces, while China presently possesses a formidable military power on Taiwan. It would be sufficient if the whole Free World — not just the United States — would give The Republic of China on Taiwan economic aid, provide military equipment and instructors, and most importantly, its moral and political solidarity. This would be sufficient to allow Free China a realistic opportunity to restore freedom to its homeland, the more so as liberty is still fiercely defended by an internal resistance and underground movement on the mainland. It must not be forgotten that the Peking regime has only the outward appearance of an impregnable colossus. Internally, the regime is rotted by the hatred of the people; hatred for the oppressive labors forced upon them, hatred for the horrors brought by the "Popular Communes," by suppression of the revolts in Tibet, Sinkiang and Kwantung, hatred for Red misdeeds, massacres, secret police and failures.

In 1961 Lo Jui-Ching, Chief of the secret police, admitted that Peking faced sixty million saboteurs and irreconcilables in its own territory, and that during the decade from 1950 to 1960, 8,323,680 cases of passive and active resistance had accumulated, attributed by the official jargon to "counterrevolutionaries"; an average of 2,280 a day. While the threat to the regime of this popular opposition should not be overestimated, due to the inhibitory effect of the highly developed apparatus of terror, neither should it be underestimated in view of the formidable force available in Taiwan, which nourishes the hopes of the oppressed while haunting the dreams of the oppressors.

If the Free World assists in removing the thorn of Free China from the foot of the Communist tyrant, the Chinese subjects will then be more easily crushed, but in such a case our "realism" will have consisted in interpreting reality to suit Chinese Communism so we may then recognize Red China for less logical reasons.

Can Communism Be Civilized by Embassies?

Whatever the prediction for the success of anti-Communist resistance in continental China, it certainly appears less nebulous than the possibility of softening Communism through the sagacious representations of a French Ambassador in Peking. Yet only slightly less ubiquitous than the slogan that

"we cannot ignore six hundred million Chinese" was the exhortation that "we must assure the 'French presence' in Asia."

It is difficult to conceive of a concept less realistic than that, in a nation subjected to a regime as monolithic as Communist totalitarianism, a foreign country is "present" merely by the maintenance of an Embassy. General de Gaulle recognized this fact, perhaps unintentionally, when he recently coupled the qualification "detestable" with the term "totalitarian." Under such a regime the inhabitants simply do not have free access to one another. It follows that they cannot have any private intercourse with foreigners, and still less with Embassies. It is most difficult to cite an instance in which any foreign Embassy, located in one of the "detestable" totalitarian regimes, has made any useful contact with the local society. Nor is there any realistic communication with the ruling class, which remains a tightly closed clique. There is not even contact with the beauties of nature since the movement of foreign diplomats in Communist China is rigidly restricted to an area of the few square miles surrounding the capital.

The history of the fifty Western Embassies, which have existed for forty years of total isolation in Russia, provides massive proof of this impenetrable political quarantine. No single move, decision or utterance of any Soviet leader during this forty year period can be conclusively attributed to influence exercised by a Western Ambassador. It was shortly after having acquired an impressive array of foreign embassies in Moscow that the Kremlin indulged in its worst Stalinist excesses — under their very noses!

There is no doubt the Free World has exerted an influence on the Communist slave masters, but this has been owing to its economic and military power, its alliances, its public scoldings, and in some cases to reports on Western strength by the heads of indigenous Communist Parties; never as the result of the severely self-censored conversations with our resident Excellencies.

Our officials stationed in Moscow have rather had a tendency to tone down and muffle the scolding echos of the external world. Influence, if any, has more often been exerted in the opposite direction. Our Ambassadors, who can do little to present our views to Moscow, rather tend to subject our State Departments to the designs of Moscow.

Experience in China has bluntly demonstrated the futility of ambassadorial influence on the decision-making processes of Peking. Despite India's incessant cajolery of Mao, implemented from a large and friendly Embassy at his Court, China was not even momentarily restrained from attacking India when expediency dictated such an action.

And how rational is General de Gaulle's position, stated at his January 31, 1964, press conference, that the establishment of diplomatic relations would promote fruitful exchanges between the "cultures" of the two peoples? We know that Mao has disfigured the authentic Chinese culture, killed or deported the cream of the independent intellectuals, falsified or banned many of the ancient literary classics, and that his opaque censorship permits no trace of international culture to penetrate the bamboo curtain.

The Precedent of the United Kingdom

It will be argued that Britain has already recognized Communist China.

It has never been asserted that this was done to open cultural relations between Karl Marx and Adam Smith, or between Mao Tse-tung and Rudyard Kipling. England recognized China to save Hong Kong! And moreover, this was in the infancy of the new regime, when it could still be hoped that Chinese Communism might not turn out too badly. It must be recalled that at that time, according to the carefully cultivated mood in the West, Mao was not a "true" Communist, but a simple agrarian reformer; a patriot interested primarily in modernizing his country. He was a sheep in wolf's clothing, awaiting only the arrival of the Western Ambassadors to discuss pastoral niceties. After fifteen years of internal massacres and external aggressions, even the British recognize that this vision was an aberration, and if they were given the opportunity they would not again commit the same mistake. Their silence regarding the French action makes this eloquently clear.

The Soviet Recognitions

But everyone recognized the USSR! If this was right in the case of Russia, why is it wrong for China?

Much the same illusions about Soviet Russia were cherished by the Free World as those which deluded England concerning Red China. Most of the recognitions occurred during the period from 1923 to 1925, when the Stalinist monster was still concealed in the womb of Bolshevism. There remained at that time no serious elements of resistance to the new regime. There is no comparison between the scattered, divided and unarmed enclaves of Czarist and Menshevik emigres, scattered around the world, and the political potential represented by thickly populated Taiwan, nationally viable, politically homogeneous and solidly organized militarily. In 1924 and 1925 we could thus resign ourselves to a reality which was no longer defied, and which was not yet defying the world. The fact that the hope for

Russian Communism has been dramatically disillusioned and betrayed for forty years should be a greater deterrent to another catastrophic misjudgement.

If we fail to heed the lessons of history, we will play the role described by Lord Acton when he said, "One calls a policy realistic when it repeats the blunders which created yesterday's realities."

The Commercial Approach

Must we recognize Peking, if only to establish economic contact with the "enormous" market of mainland China?

Not in the least! If the Chinese need our products, they will know how to acquire them without Embassies. The Germans and Japanese, without recognizing China, do more business with it than do the British, who have maintained dormant representatives in Peking for fifteen years.

Moreover, the absolute value of French commerce with China remains minimal, with little chance for substantial expansion. Currently, it amounts to less than a quarter of the trade with Denmark, and without an economic miracle will not increase materially.

French goods, and those of the United States, are much more expensive than those of Japan which, incidentally, are better adapted to the poverty of Chinese Communist purchasers. Also, China has no currency to exchange for our goods, so trade can only be on the basis of barter, dependent on our imports of Chinese products. The few Chinese goods suitable for Occidental consumption would be withdrawn from the already meagre rations of its people. In other words, we would sell to China on credit machinery which it would use tomorrow to enslave Asia, payable by a few pounds of rice which would today only deprive its already undernourished people, and all without any assurance that we would receive even this return. Three days before the recognition, the French press published a derogatory report by Union officials, which concluded that prospects for trade with Communist China were very meagre — and General de Gaulle agreed with this in his January 31, 1964 press conference!

Fundamentally, the business rationale of Operation Recognition stems from Red China's need for French sales to acquire francs, with which to pay for oil to be purchased from Ben Bella; oil which the USSR threatens to stop supplying. Oil which, of course, Ben Bella has only because France had previously spent a great deal of money and technical skill in developing the Sahara wells. After which France, without access to this source which she had developed in the desert, will have to buy her oil . . . from the Soviets! And if the Chinese, having obtained our francs, do not spend them in Algeria, but instead hold out their jerry-cans for Ben Bella to fill on

credit — France will extend “aid” to Ben Bella so he can allow the necessary credit to his anti-imperialistic friends in Peking. This is what we call realism!

Peace or Slavery in Southeast Asia?

It cannot be denied (it is said) that it is impossible to achieve a lasting peace in Southeast Asia without negotiating with Communist China. And to negotiate with it, it must first be recognized.

This sophism is exposed by the hard fact that we have twice negotiated with Peking without recognizing its government; once to end the war in Indo-China, and once to “neutralize” Laos — and in both instances the negotiations have proved to be a trap.

The Vietminh, with the backing of Peking, has violated the Geneva accord in every conceivable manner, of which the most flamboyant is the guerrilla war it continues to wage in South Vietnam with the encouragement and consistent assistance of Peking. As for the “neutralization” of Laos, we learned the hard way that it has served only as a screen for an ever deepening infiltration into all elements of the country by the Communist Pathet Lao — Another of Peking’s creatures. Is this the fate we wish to impose on South Vietnam?

Who can fail to perceive the fallacious and hypocritical character of a “neutrality” which binds only the South, while leaving the North protected by its Communist armor! Why will we refuse to understand that the concept of neutrality, applicable only to military situations, is deprived of all meaning when one of the belligerents — the Communist camp — is waging an essentially political war of propaganda, infiltration and subversion? For neutrality to be honest in such a conflict it would be necessary to prohibit all Communist or para-Communist activity in the whole of the territory concerned. Is Peking to be expected to honor such a prohibition?

The contest between the Communist and Western States is never equitable, since the Communists operate simultaneously on two fronts: that of classical military warfare and that of conspiratorial political warfare, while we utilize only the first. They have both a sword and a virus for use against us, while we use only the sword. This could still suffice to defend us, although inadequately, but if after an International Conference both sides relinquish the sword in Southeast Asia, while the Communist camp retains the virus, then that area will be entirely unprotected, and consequently delivered to the Communists.

How incongruous it is that, to guarantee an accord of “neutrality,” co-operation is solicited from the very regime which holds as an article of faith the use of universal trickery and violence to assure its hegemony! To

the extent that Communist China participates in any international treaty; to that extent we may be sure the treaty will be violated — by Communist China!

It is by helping those South Vietnamese and Laotians who are resisting the Vietcong and the Pathet Lao foot by foot that the French presence in Southeast Asia may be shown as true, useful and noble. By joining the fight against the Communists, France could receive the unreserved friendship of the people in Southeast Asia, but a "French presence" which amounts to an invitation to a Communist presence cannot avoid the creation of suspicion. This sort of "presence" does not raise France's prestige; it lowers it. France has never been so poorly regarded in Thailand, South Vietnam, Laos, the Philippines, Malaysia, South Korea and Taiwan than since that fatal declaration of January 27, 1964, which escalated disagreement to the level of anger.

The kindly, restrained Nguyen Ngoc-tho, ex-President of the Vietnamese Council and long time friend of France, stated during an interview on Radio Luxembourg: "We do not want to be sacrificed to the strange way in which France conceives of its re-entry into the Asian scene. Until now, out of diplomatic courtesy, we have withheld the expression of our real feelings. But now the cup runneth over. I no longer wish to restrain myself from telling you that we are simply furious. Very furious. Furious that France, under the pretext of 'neutralism' sabotaged us, betrayed us, kills us . . . We cannot any longer recognize the France of yesterday . . . My sons still study there, so profound remains our love for France. But how will this love survive de Gaulle's plan of 'neutralization,' which in our circles signifies only demoralization; demoralization of our youth, of our army, of our rural population, of our people . . ."

Cambodia alone applauded the French move. This resulted from its understanding of "neutrality" in the "good" meaning. Her prince is so "neutral" that he pursues his studies, not at Geneva, but in Peking! The plain truth is that, in all the countries directly and seriously exposed to Chinese Communism's hegemonic pressure, France's gesture had a single practical effect: the enhancement of Peking's prestige and simultaneous debasement of its opponents' morale.

Betray an ally to appease an enemy?

The resistance of Nationalist China is also a reality; a far nobler reality than Chinese Communism, which was entirely neglected by the decidedly selective "realism" which inspired the recognition of Peking. It is important to emphasize that in recognizing one part of the Chinese reality, France has repudiated the other.

For fifteen years France followed consistently, and in good faith, the policy of non-recognition of Red China. In the United Nations it was the action, in concert with Paris, of the sixteen French-speaking African nations which blocked the admission of this formidable malcontent. Thus it was that when the news spread that France was suddenly going to reverse her position, the question in all minds was: What has happened to alter the situation?

According to the oracles it was something fundamental. For the first time in fifteen years, the Peking government no longer insisted on a break

with Taipei as a condition for the establishment of diplomatic intercourse. Therefore, it was now possible to maintain contacts with both Chinas.

It was Mr. Edgar Faure who reported this miracle after his trip to "The Middle Empire." A miracle appropriate to the promotion of the "realistic" policy of treating a China with two heads as a reality. It was astonishing. Certainly Mr. Faure's *savoir faire* was superior, but was it sufficient to overcome such a tremendous obstacle? Throughout all history every government has been most sensitive concerning the integrity of national territory. From 1870 to 1914, a thousand Edgar Faures would have been unable to persuade France to renounce Alsace. The idea that Peking had actually accepted the concept of two Chinas, simply to gratify the Doge of France and his Marco Polo, was overwhelming.

Rude Awakening

What was in fact overwhelming was the abruptness and violence with which the whole rosy dream collapsed. Exactly two days after achieving recognition, the Peking government issued a biting communique, giving notice that there would be no Ambassador sent to Paris as long as anyone else in residence asserted the least claim to represent China.

The awakening was rude indeed. It is of little moment whether there had been deception or a *quid pro quo*, or the level at which it occurred; from Peking to Faure, from Faure to de Gaulle, or from de Gaulle to the public. What really mattered was the disclosure that the great novelty was fraudulent, and that France would have to swallow the package whole. To complete its task France was required to renounce its old ally, Chiang Kai-shek. While Chiang had the dignity to anticipate the dismissal of which he was to be informed, he was in fact pushed out by the shoulders, as it was Paris which was constrained to announce that rupture with The Republic of China was a necessary consequence of Peking's recognition.

The recognition of Peking must be considered a very dangerous move, although the majority of French people approved more or less in principle, with important reservations on the matter of timing. Even this partial consensus could be obtained only by emphasizing the assurance that it would be unnecessary to stab the Free Chinese in the back; an emphasis supplied by certain important personages in television appearances. It was then necessary for them to recant. They had to accept the knife, and the necessity that France plunge it in the back of a friend.

Consequences of the Rupture with Nationalist China

The political significance of this action is worthy of careful consideration. It means that France has officially intervened in the dispute over Chinese representation. As a consequence of this break with The Republic of China, France has not simply said to Mao: "We recognize that you control continental China." She has indeed said much more. She has effectively announced to Mao: "You alone have the right to control all Chinese territory. Thus, we maintain that as between you and Chiang Kai-shek, the latter is the usurper."

The contest for sovereignty between the two Chinas is not an abstraction. It involves the use of weapons, which Mao has already unleashed on the neighboring islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Mao is determined to take Taiwan, and Chiang is equally resolved to recover continental China. The Western powers which, rightly or wrongly, believe Chiang's liberation of the mainland would create an intolerable risk, have the political means to prevent him from acting. They possess no means, other than the nuclear deterrent, to inhibit Mao.

Therefore, on the day Mao decides to carry the war to Taiwan, unleashing blood and iron to bring twelve million free human beings behind the Bamboo Curtain — on that very day, France will have said in advance, to the aggressor: "Take them — they are yours!"

One China; Two Germanies

This is not all. It should be fully understood that the theory of two Chinas, invoked as a preliminary to recognition, is inherently vicious, implying equal virtue between a free regime and a despotism. Moreover, it establishes a dangerous precedent for the recognition of two Germanies, which has created a deep resentment toward the French action in Bonn. To conciliate Bonn, Paris has denied that the recognition of Communist China would logically lead to recognition of Communist Germany, arguing that China is governed by Chinese, while East Germany is only a satellite.

The reasoning is not convincing. East Germany is in fact governed by Germans; and by Germans of a national Communist Party longer established in its country than is Mao's in China. In both, power rests only on the force of bayonets, as with all Communist regimes, wherever established. The only distinction is that in China the bayonets are wielded by Chinese, while in East Germany they are chiefly employed by the Soviets. And even this difference disappears on closer analysis. The "national" force to which

Mao owes the conquest of his country was built by massive assistance from the USSR; even the weapons with which it was originally armed were provided from the huge stock seized by the Russians from the Japanese after their capitulation, and which by Russian agreement with the other Allied Powers and under their treaty with the Republic of China, was to have been delivered to Chiang Kai-shek. This, incidentally, is one of the least mentioned and most important treaty violations perpetrated by the Soviets. Communist power in East Germany, while admittedly imposed originally by the Red Army, was soon converted to an indigenous force, and could probably now survive with exclusively German janissaries, even if the Soviet troops were withdrawn.

More importantly, all Communist power is essentially alien to the people it subjugates. Regardless of the birth, color or language of the performers, it is the Communist machine which fastens its grip on a country, representing an international apparatus, indoctrinated, trained, equipped and commanded from international control centers, now found principally in Russia, but tomorrow in China as well. Such an apparatus has no national roots. All its inspiration, direction and discipline derives from the Party; never from the soil. Any country ruled by Communism is occupied. Thus, it is utter sophistry to recognize Mao because he issued from a national base, while Ulbricht is not recognized on the pretense that his regime arose from a Soviet base. Each is essentially the same creature: a Communist dictator. Recognition of Mao is indeed a long and logical step, justly resented by Bonn, toward the recognition of Ulbricht.

The fact should be underlined that Chiang Kai-shek was driven from the continent by the sword rather than by franchise. Mao was never honestly elected by the people. This is why, like all dictators, he is tormented by anxiety to establish his legitimacy. The legitimate Chinese parliament, elected in 1947-8 by universal suffrage of both sexes, emigrated with Chiang to Formosa in 1949, where it still sits. The 1948 elections, incidentally, should be noted by those who believe the Chinese women were enfranchised by Communism. Mao achieved power by sheer force of arms. No free consensus ever awarded him the "consent of the governed," without which no government is legitimate.

Plebiscite of the Captives

On January 24, 1953, there occurred an extremely dramatic and significant opportunity to measure the popularity of China's Red regime. Twenty-three thousand Chinese war prisoners in Korea were asked whether they

wished to return to Communism or be transferred to Korea. The response was eloquent. Ninety percent chose Free China on Taiwan!

The validity of their decision was emphasized by their heterogeneity. These were young soldiers, taken by chance in battle, and thus comprised a uniquely representative sample of the average Chinese. The eloquence of their choice was more notable since they made the cruelest sacrifice — the renunciation of their homes. As usual when the veil shrouding Communism is rent, the Free World was either unable or unwilling to lengthen the tear. The French, of all people, had an illuminating basis of comparison in the 1945 repatriation of their war prisoners, who were so feverishly enthusiastic that all the arrangements made for their welcome were overwhelmed. This was the reaction normal in the reunion of a divided people. How different if, of the million Frenchmen held in Germany, nine hundred thousand had refused to return to their homes! Should such an incident have occurred, the whole world would have upbraided France for having become such a hateful step-mother to its children!

The prisoners were probably not attracted to Nationalist China because of the impeccable elections they had held. These unfortunates did not ask that much; it was enough to know that, in Formosa, respect would be accorded their personal freedom, and their elementary dignity as human beings. We tend to forget that authority is a matter of degree, and that its extent is very responsive to a national character. Between the black terror of totalitarian tyranny and the measured restrictions of a representative government lies a gulf as wide as the world; the distance between death and life. And it is to the world of life that the Chinese prisoners aspired by choosing Taiwan, having already known the world of death.

Thus this extraordinary repudiation of their homes by the prisoners constituted a true plebiscite of the Chinese against the hateful Communist step-mother, in favor of maternal China. And the French have chosen to reject the representatives of the loving mother and accept those of the hateful step-mother.

Plebiscite of the Refugees

A silent and continuous plebiscite by millions of refugees moving on foot, oozing out through all the crevices of the Bamboo Curtain, establishes conclusively which China receives the allegiance of the Chinese people, and which earns its condemnation. Since the creation of the wall, seven million Chinese people have succeeded in slipping out through its cracks; dodging bullets and mines by land, rowing junks and sampans by sea and sometimes,

as a last resort, by swimming. These seven million were not those whose riches or power had been destroyed by the revolution, but rather modest workers from city and farm who had no preconceived prejudices against the Communist regime. They learned of its realities precisely at the level where it is most significant; at the level of daily living, where it becomes apparent under the cruelties imposed by its rule. Seven million of these common people, who according to the popular shibboleth were the very ones benefited by the Communist revolution, fled cursing it. They fled, having sacrificed all they had accumulated in possessions and family; alone, naked and harried, eluding the beams of searching spotlights, the bursts of machine gun fire and the jaws of police dogs, staggering, falling, arising, driving themselves, drawn by a single, irresistible goal: freedom!

Some Chinese refugees permit themselves to be bound hand and foot, so their illicit ferrymen may jettison their weighted bodies, like a package of inanimate contraband, if overtaken by a Communist patrol. And on arrival at Macao or Hong Kong, they immediately display the insignia of Free China on the miserable refugee camp huts which become their homes; huts which they nevertheless prefer to life under Mao. During the peak of the great 1962 famine the Peking government, preoccupied with the problem of keeping its people alive, relaxed some of the terrible restrictions against refugees. The waves of fugitives increased enormously, amounting to more than thirty thousand in a single day at one frontier post. The exodus reached such proportions that the Hong Kong authorities were forced to accept the cruel responsibility of turning back the escapees. And the Peking government was forced to recognize the fantastic reality that it could not open its gates without losing its entire population.

In China, as in other Communist regimes, the fundamental opposition of the people is strongly demonstrated by the absence of free elections; a negative proof fully as convincing as the positive evidence provided by the sacrifices accepted by prisoners and refugees. The slave masters of Peking would like nothing better than a thunderous endorsement before the whole world, expressed by an unimpeachable vote of their subjects; a consummation they can never achieve by oppression and terror. The absence of free elections conclusively proves the unpopularity of any regime.

Here Is Taiwan

How heartbreaking, that these concepts should be ignored by the very man whose path to an exceptional destiny was paved by them! Throughout World War II, in his modest retreat near London, General de Gaulle play-

ed the same role in respect to France which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek now plays in Taiwan, relative to China. De Gaulle personified the legitimacy, the sovereignty and the honor of his nation, although France was effectively under Petain's authority. During those dark years, how would de Gaulle have regarded those who, pleading realism, asserted that Petain was the only true France?

Taiwan represents the authentic and respected China, not only from a juridicial viewpoint, but also from the human perspective. It is insufficiently appreciated, in our foolish world which accepts all too naively the poison of Communist propaganda, that Taiwan has toiled with exemplary governmental austerity to enact fundamental and impressive reforms: agrarian, sanitary and scholastic. It has emerged from an under-developed state to the status of a second Japan in twelve years. Taiwan has doubled its agricultural production; tripled its industrial capacity and raised its standard of living one hundred fifty percent. Compared to the bloody follies of the Popular Communes, which under Mao's Communism desolated the earth and crucified the peasants, Taiwan's agrarian reform was so remarkable that it has become a model for many African nations. Free China's army of six hundred thousand men is among the most modern and best instructed in the world. It has used American economic assistance so effectively that it has now developed to a level of practical self-sufficiency.

And so, it is Nationalist China which is penalized and isolated, while the Pharaoh of the "Popular Communes" is rewarded and courted. What a sombre situation!

And Here Is Red China

It is asserted that politics take no account of morality. Recognition is extended or withheld, not in order to reward virtue nor sanction evil, but simply to accept . . . reality.

No morality in politics? This is the principle invoked when immoral politics are involved! But when one rebukes some racist, or a dictator of the right, even though national or regional interests suffer as a consequence, one throws out one's chest to boast of one's virtue!

But above all it should be stressed that we consistently ignore the matter of degree. When the mischiefs of a government deviate only slightly from age-old norms, our insouciance toward such peccadillos is relatively unimportant, compared to the task of weaving the overall web of diplomatic in-

tercommunication. But when such misdeeds attain the stature of crimes against humanity, such a speculative indifference becomes intolerable.

This is the actual dimension of Communist China's behavior: crimes against humanity. Thirty million innocent victims — mark it well: Thirty million human beings, slaughtered amidst the cruelest terror, implemented by the most horrible tortures! Six hundred million ordinary men and women, persecuted by mass trials, by hallucinatory brainwashings, by still existing slave labor camps, by exhausting overwork, by the hell of the Popular Communes with their dispersed families, by cruel famines induced by bureaucratic waste. Six hundred million common people under a brutal oppression characterized by processions of "deviationists" enroute to beg punishment from the Communist Party, by a militarized and completely opaque censorship, by lists of honor and of shame posted on factory walls, by internal passports. In short, six hundred million Chinese subjected to a resurrection Pharaonic slavery.

This is not an exaggeration. The entire world, including those satellites adhering to Moscow, has recognized that Chinese Communism is committed to a continuation of Stalinism, whose wholly tyrannical and expansionist character was confirmed by no less an authority than Nikita Khrushchev.

When any regime sinks to this level of inhumanity, the world no longer has the right to disregard those moral ramifications involving primary considerations of conservation, vital to the survival of the whole human race.

The proof that morals cannot be ignored, when we are confronted with major crimes, is found in the frantic attempts to cover up the crimes. French officialdom assumed the task of rationalizing the Chinese Communist reality, in order that degradation would not prove unduly burdensome to French consciences. If recognition of Mao meant nothing more than a realistic comprehension of his power, it should have had no effect on the critical value judgements which were evolving on the eve of the action — but suddenly the French radio and television were presenting sugary views of Mao's regime. Scenes filmed on the spot by television cameramen were obviously selected to show happy Chinese; markets bulging with an avalanche of produce; stylish interiors. With a prudence worthy of an archbishop discussing a papal error, it was disclosed that the "hard period" — in reality, the hell of the Popular Communes — is a thing of the past, and that (Oh, great miracle, conclusively vindicating the merits of Communism!) the Chinese could henceforth eat with their families. A family with chubby youngsters was shown, stuffing themselves with

rice and meat, with three friends "who had invited themselves to dinner," although Peking acknowledges that both rice and meat are still severely rationed. Doctors, writers and engineers were produced to inform our reporter that, as formerly illiterate workers, they owed their marvelous advancement to Mao's tender solicitude, and to the policy of the Communist Party. In summary, the French broadcast and television network treated its listeners to a chapter extracted, practically untouched, from the Communist propaganda manual.

All these absurdities were more shocking because they were in direct contradiction to the true realities of the regime, known and published throughout the world only three months earlier. But the newsmongers recited this pabulum because of an inner uneasiness that, when morals are outraged by excesses of the dimensions committed by the Communists, the situation can no longer be ignored, having become an integral, and even determinative part of reality. So they must absolve themselves. Had the horrors of Auschwitz and Buchenwald been widely known at the time, who would have welcomed Hitler's ambassadors unreservedly? We once more observe, in this sad affair, vice's pitiful homage to virtue. That which French opinion was brought to recognize was not the real, but a fictitious China.

Another Crack in the Atlantic Alliance

Thus it was that the alleged "realism" of the French government was dichotomous, plunging into darkness that part of reality which troubled its conscience; the China of Taiwan. Another portion of world reality blithely ignored by the "realism" of French recognition was the Atlantic Alliance. The majority of participating governments oppose recognition of Red China. Even though their position might be questionable, realism should have required consideration of their views, weighing the doubtful advantages obtained by unilateral recognition against the inevitable inconvenience suffered by incurring their censure.

France is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO), whose charter prescribes consultation between members on all important actions which could significantly modify the Alliance's position vis-a-vis Communism. France violated this requirement. With characteristic pomp and ceremony, France signed a treaty with Germany at the Elysees Palace, requiring mutual discussion on all serious matters of international policy. France ignored this obligation. By a higher unwritten law France owes, as duty to herself, an obligation to maintain a sacred union with all free

nations against Communism. France has not fulfilled this duty. She has established the odious precedent that each nation can hereafter act as it pleases before the Communist menace.

French organs of opinion took great pains to prove that there was, throughout the Free World, no basic hostility aroused by the French decision, citing the approval of the American journalist, Walter Lippman, and the English weekly, *The Observer*. But they neglected to inform the public that both this journalist and periodical had for years advocated a relatively complaisant policy toward the Communist bloc.

There were some who disapproved of the French move: her friends and neighbors, the Belgians, the Dutch and the Germans. Contrary to the spotlighted opinion of Walter Lippman, a substantial body of American opinion was deeply disturbed by this rapprochement between France and Red China. The prominent "*Committee of One Million*" had recently collected over one million signatures petitioning against the admission of Peking to the United Nations. This Committee, which enjoys the support of many distinguished Congressmen and Senators, of both political parties, issued an "Appeal to the People of France, in the name of the historic friendship between our two peoples." There follows a portion of the text, as published in *Combat* of January 27, 1964:

"Our alliance, French friends, was forged by blood and revolution. Twice in this century we have sent young Americans to your country to fight by your side to safeguard our common heritage and your national independence. In view of this long past, we feel we have the right and the duty to send you this appeal as between brothers . . .

"The experience with Nazi Germany has shown that some regimes are intrinsically aggressive, and that one does not pacify them — quite the opposite — by making concessions to them, satisfying the gnawing need for recognition of their legitimacy and extension of their prestige. The sole result of such a policy is to render these regimes even more arrogant, and accentuate their scorn of democracies . . .

"That this is undoubtedly the case with Communist China is demonstrated by its long list of direct aggression and systematic assistance to subversions.

"We assure you there is no single political position which so widely unites the American people as hostility toward any concession to the Communist Chinese. Our Congress and our government have unceasingly opposed any step which might trend in this direction. And



in so doing, we are conscious of acting, not for our personal welfare, but for the Cause of Freedom in the world. Complacency toward the Communist China; recognition of its legitimacy, are errors more tragic than was Munich . . .”

The American Congress, like the Administrative Branch under all Presidents, has been uncompromising on this issue, even when the winds of appeasement toward Communism blew strongest. Aside from Walter Lippman and a handful of appeasing extremists, ninety-five percent of the American press depreciated the French action; an example followed by eighty percent of the press in the balance of the Western world. However, the French radio and television took only some two percent of its quotations from these sources.

African Repercussions

But the segment of world reality blithely ignored by the selective "realism" of Paris, and which in fact should have received most of its attention was . . . Africa.

It is to the credit of the majority of African French-speaking countries, and comforting evidence of their maturity, that they did not immediately follow France's new line. The warm approval of Guinea and Mali only serves to demonstrate the gravitation of France toward alignment with, and sympathy for the Communist universe. President Tsiranana of Madagascar declared that he would not follow France, and voiced a severe criticism of her move. While the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and Gabon were not as forceful, they exhibited marked reserve. Dahomey and Togo assured Free China that they would continue to maintain friendly relations.

Unfortunately, it is to be feared that the example set by a trusted friend will in time lead the French oriented African nations to recognize Communist China. The underlying friendship between France and the African countries is mutually beneficial and its preservation ardently to be desired, but in this case they will be well advised to avoid French leadership. Ample motivation for such abstention will be found in the true representation of the consequences of the "Chinese presence" in free countries, and especially a consideration of its possible impact on their own affairs.

The practical significance of Chinese Embassies

Peking's rulers, less than four days after General de Gaulle's press conference, demolished the rosy dream that French diplomatic recognition could cool the Communist fireball. On February 4, ending his African tour in Mogadiscio, the capital of Somaliland, Chou En-lai made an off-hand remark which was nevertheless calculated to serve notice that Paris' action would not alter one atom of the Chinese incendiary:

"There is an excellent revolutionary situation on the African continent. Africa can count on Communist China's aid and fellowship to win the anti-imperialist battle and to pursue its revolution through the illustrious stages of our own revolution."

The "Anti-Imperialist battle" means of course the continuing war against the West. It is important that the African, Asian and Latin American countries appreciate the significance of "aid and fellowship."

Philosophy of Blood

First and foremost, Communist "aid and fellowship" signifies a reckless advocacy and practice of pitiless violence. Mao Tse-tung was and is the great philosopher and captain of bloody guerrilla warfare with methods more radical and cynical than the Bolsheviks. In his book "Politics Command" he carefully enunciates a comprehensive treatise on the rules of guerrilla warfare: how to recruit and inflame partisans, how to attract dupes into "liberation fronts," how to circulate false rumors to delude the population, how to slander adversaries, how to practice deception and double-dealing. His manual encompasses explicit instructions for violence and homicide: how to blow up bridges, burn harvests and bomb schools; the use of plastic grenades; how to kill silently, to butcher the stubborn, the village chiefs, isolated women and children and tourists. His discourse covers guerrilla tactics: how to attack regular forces only when they are in a temporarily weaker position, at night in isolated posts a detachment which has just returned to its quarters, unarmed convoys, etc. Mao considers that guerrilla warfare, consisting of widespread and unrelenting violence delivered in small doses, is the fundamental method for the eventual imposition of Communism on the countries of the Third World.

The "Negative Example"

In the November 19, 1958, issue of *The Red Flag*, theoretical organ of Chinese Communism, Mao Tse-tung candidly recognized that Communism had never been able to triumph by the "positive virtue" of its doctrine, and has succeeded only because of the "positive examples" provided by errors of the regimes it opposed. And he cynically concluded that if these regimes should reform to the extent that they would no longer generate "negative examples," the Communists would then have to incite such "examples" by provocation. He cited the voluntary decolonization which threatens to deprive the Communist movement in Asia and Africa of its main targets of abuse. From this he deduced that the denunciations must be transferred from the waning "colonial system" to the "white mercenaries" who remained to assist native administrators, shifting the emphasis of the struggle from the political sphere to agitation of disorders. And he explains that, because China is better prepared than the USSR to lead the black and yellow masses in this new activity, it is China that should assume leadership of the revolutionary effort in Asia and Africa.

It is needless to comment on the fate of those native leaders who remain committed to the positive aid that the West alone can provide for

the development of their nations. The Chinese have no concern for true progress, having no objection to inheriting poor and naked countries. They are very happy if they can set the natives in the hottest possible conflict with a Western company which has built, let us say, a dam, if by such conflict the abandonment of the project can be induced, providing a "negative example" on which to build hatred and bloodshed. The material and spiritual progress of the masses is of little importance to Peking. What counts is the generation of rage and hatred. It is apparent that the "negative example" theory falls squarely within the framework of Mao's "Political Command," with its advocacy of the practice of assassination as the essence of his military thinking.

Schools of Guerilla Warfare

A pattern has been set by the Yellow Machiavelli of the ambush, of brush fires, of cut-throat raids and the plastic bomb. General Giap of the Vietminh, and Castro's infamous henchman Che Guevara, have also published adaptations of Mao's work on the techniques of guerrilla warfare and subversion. In Cuba, as in China and the USSR, special schools have been organized where thousands of activists, one-third each from Asia, Africa and Latin America, are trained and indoctrinated in these techniques.

Pedro Lucas Roy, a former Castro leader who defected by fleeing his post at the Cuban Embassy in Mexico, has furnished the "outlines" of courses taught in the Cuban schools of guerrilla warfare, using as texts the manuals of Mao and Guevara. Some of the methods and principles are:

- a) Armed insurrection is the final goal of all guerrilla activity; use of strikes, demonstrations, sabotage and street violence as a means to general subversion;
- b) demoralization of the army, implemented by campaigns of rumors among the enlisted men with moral, and if necessary, physical assassination of strong officers;
- c) methods for procurement and distribution of arms; a precise study of the arsenal of weapons suitable for guerrilla warfare;
- d) emphasis on the absolute necessity of undermining and corrupting capitalist nations from within, prior to launching operations aimed directly at the seizure of power;

- e) subversion and rebellion must be multiform for success, and should never be limited to a single plot, a single environment or a single objective.

The Free World now possesses many details concerning the intense training in subversion conducted in Cuba, for which the Chinese schools are the prototypes. People of all colors and races are brought together in the Cuban schools for instruction in the uses of the knife, the saw, the pistol, explosives, jets of ink, pepper or glue in street fights; of deceit, camouflage, tracts, loudspeakers, lies, calumnies, uprisings, kidnappings and chain assassinations. Here they learn the manipulation of labor unions, and the utilization of universities and religious sanctuaries for their purposes.

Anthony Okotcha, an African student, has testified that certain of these special schools have even included witchcraft in their curricula. The naked facts he reports are more revealing of the truth about Communism than tons of Marxist theses:

"After Marxism-Leninism, the theme of my studies was 'the secret sciences.' The class for 'witch doctors' was available only to the African students. The first time I attended, accompanied by my wife, we found the professor surrounded by skeletons, plastic human skulls, elastic snakes and all sorts of bizarre objects. The professor started his course with: 'You know that in certain underdeveloped parts of Africa the people are highly superstitious, and one cannot attain political objectives without playing on their superstitions. From this arises the necessity of spreading the methods which permitted the agitation of the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya. A single witch doctor, working among primitive people, can accomplish more than a dozen political speakers. He can incite the masses to any objective, at his discretion. You see what you can gain if he is a Communist.' The professor then gave us a demonstration of his art. He placed the skull on the table and caused it to emit orders, such as: 'I am your ancestor. I command you to go this night and kill the British governor, and bring me his head. If you fail, your family will live forever under an evil eye!' Or on another occasion: 'I am Shango, the spirit of the deep waters. I will have you possessed by madness if you don't do all I command.'

"The professor showed us how these voices were produced by tiny electronic speakers hidden in the skulls. He next taught us to simulate trances, possession by spirits and demons, the apparition of spectres

in clouds of smoke, the illusions of trees speaking, skeletons walking in abandoned rooms, and ghosts haunting the houses of enemies.

"In other classes, we were taught about the physical, rather than the mystical. We were shown how to throw grenades into a crowd, how to kill quickly and silently with a knife, how to organize surprise attacks at night and the art of effective sabotage, how to blow up a bridge or derail a train, how to disable a machine, and how to counterfeit money. Other courses dealt with the techniques of organization, propaganda, intoxication and infiltration."

These special schools are provided with enormous budgets, and with equipment and instructors adapted to each different type of student. A former member of the Spanish Brigades, Alberto Bayo, for the Spanish-speaking students; a colored Haitian, Rene Depreste, for the Africans; a Chinese, Lin Ciao-yen, for the Asians; a Russian, Jaralev Volenkeszky, for the Europeans, etc. The schools, just as the groups working in "true grandeur" throughout Latin America, derive their inspiration from the instruction of a Council of Revolutionary Commandos of Latin America, which has been since October, 1962, under the direction of General Belodorov, former Chief of Personnel of the Soviet Defense Ministry.

Fire and Blood in the Southern Hemisphere

So, inflamed by theory and schooled in practice, the disciples of Mao Tse-tung have moved into action. For several years the northern part of the South American continent has been drenched with blood by the Communist guerrillas. The world resounded with the dramatic deeds of the Venezuelan bands during the presidential election: sporadic nocturnal assassinations in the streets, rioting, especially by adolescents, burning of oil wells, explosions in factories, mistreatment of hostages, policemen shot in the back during traffic jams. Guerrilla activity was prevalent in Columbia, Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru.

In Columbia, Communists oriented to Peking have already established a little autonomous Soviet Republic in the Andes. Their purpose is the establishment of a regime after the celebrated model of Yenan, the enclave in Chinese territory which Mao Tse-tung used from 1935 to 1946 as a base of subversion against Chiang Kai-shek. This prototype is carefully studied and zealously imitated by all the Latin American Communists, especially the fire and blood segment, which is primarily pro-Chinese.

Juliao, Brazilian leader of the "Peasant Leagues," and himself a practitioner of terrorism, has aligned himself with Castro, especially with the Chinese faction of the Castro apparatus. With his wife and daughter, he has studied in Peking.

The movement has been even more powerful in Asia. It has a long record of agitation in the Philippines, Malaysia and Burma. This last country eventually yielded, and by a treaty aligning itself with Peking paid the price for supposed cessation of guerrilla activity. The red prince of Laos, Souvannah Phong, spent years in China studying Mao's methods of organization, infiltration, subversion and terrorism. He then applied his training to the letter, through the Pathet Lao movement in his own country, with massive assistance of money, arms and men received directly from Red China and indirectly through the Red Vietminh. The results are apparent: a nation ruined and desolate is ready to fall like ripe fruit into the Chinese bag; and for this situation the West must, alas, bear a heavy share of the responsibility, having imposed a policy of "neutralization" which resulted only in opening the door to widespread Communist infiltration.

The entire world is aware of the situation in Vietnam where the Vietcong is wholly armed, instructed, directed and financed by Hanoi, backed by Peking.

The anti-Malaysian guerrillas in Borneo are Indonesians, organized and backed by the Communist Party of Indonesia, the strongest party apparatus outside the Iron Curtain, and which follows the leadership of the Chinese.

Yellow Sorcerers in Black Africa

The plague of violence extends to Africa. It is now known that certain sections of the Algerian FLN were trained by the Chinese. The bloodiest faction of the Angolan rebels, which perpetrated incredible atrocities, is closely linked to the Chinese apparatus. The South African Communists, aggressively agitating against the authorities, are increasingly turning their eyes — and outstretched hands — to Peking. In Leopoldville, the Congo, Lumumba's former minister Mulule, who has recently taken over the organization of mass murders, receives his instructions from Chinese agitators who contacted him through the offices of Nasser.

Zanzibar is the most recent piece of Africa to fall under the Communist yoke, as the result of a military *coup d'etat* organized by "Marshall" Okella, a former Mau Mau chieftan, Bahu, head of the UMMA Com-

munist Party, and Hanga. Hanga, one of the first graduates of the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, is married to an American Negro woman, Lily Golden, who is herself a member of the Soviet Communist Party. Okella and Bahu were intensively trained in Cuba, and then in China. Bahu is the recognized agent of the Chinese in Zanzibar, a correspondent of the New China Agency, and co-editor of the pro-Chinese Communist review *Revolution*, directed by Jacques Varges. He has maintained close liaison with Odinga Oginga, Minister of Kenya, whose intimate contacts with Peking have long been known to the British press.

The UMMA Party sends its militants to study in China. And it is important to note the style of the Zanzibarian revolution: several thousand executions in two days, out of a population of less than three hundred thousand, the immediate establishment of concentration camps, four government ministers ejected who, although promised clemency, were immediately hanged. A fifth minister, Ilel Salis, who had succeeded in escaping, was ordered by Okello on a radio broadcast to give himself up. If he did not, according to the broadcast, he would, when captured, be doused with oil and burned alive. Obviously Okello and Bahu had excellent instruction — Chinese style! It will be recalled that the conflagration ignited in Zanzibar spread rapidly. Troops in Tanganyika and Kenya mutinied and fell upon sundry reactionary and imperialist elements — especially when embodied in women old enough to be raped.

If the Africans permit the Chinese Communist plague to invade their continent, they will soon find that its propagators are distinguished in the Communist universe for their extreme cruelty, unlimited contempt for the individual, extraordinary inclination to deceive, lie and intrigue, and an indoctrinated, absolute lack of scruples. Oh, yes! And all compounded with a strong dose of — anti-black racism! Many Negro students in Peking learned, to their consternation, that there is more racism in China than in most countries of the Free World.

The crypto Communist Abel Kingue, one of the successors of Mounie as head of the "Union of Cameroon Populations," (UPC) returned from his studies in Peking profoundly disillusioned to provoke a split in late 1961.

The greater part of the UPC students then studying in Peking embraced the new line promulgated by Abel Kingue, and demanded repatriation. Other African students, notably a group of twenty Somalians, joined their Cameroonian comrades. Grievances long withheld were aired in tumultuous meetings. On March 13, 1961, a violent altercation occurred at the Peking City Hall between a Chinese Communist leader and a student

from Zanzibar. Following this, the African students organized a Committee of Defense which, on March 25, passed an eloquent resolution:

"To denounce the racial discrimination which exists in China:
The exclusion of African students from certain stores open to others . . .
The prohibition against dating of Chinese girls . . .
The question of African students' security in China, emphasized by frequent physical attacks . . ."

The following morning, March 26, the Committee succeeded in assembling almost all the African students in a meeting. The Chinese had retained the sympathies of two Cameroonians and one student from Chad, who as a result were badgered by their fellows as "sheep." Communist Chinese intervened, and in the ensuing struggle shouts of "Down with Chinese imperialism!" were heard from the Africans. The riot continued well into the night, with police intervention and a number of arrests. Shortly thereafter, thirty Cameroonians and twenty Ethiopians were expelled from China — which was exactly what they had ardently desired. A Somalian student, returning through Switzerland, related in a press interview an illuminating account of the opaque censorship, the heavy political content of the curriculum, and the choking police state atmosphere that prevails in Communist China.

Obviously the "Maotization" of the Blacks does not proceed without difficulties, but alas, the West does not move to exploit these problems of the Communists. In Zanzibar it permitted the voices of the students, disenchanted by Chinese realities, to be stifled while the faction faithful to Mao hastened to seize power with blood and fire.

If the African nations tolerate the establishment of Communist Chinese embassies in their capitals, they will thereby materially assist Mao in concealing his authentic criminality; for these embassies will inundate all Africa with massive propaganda, completely submerging the revelations of the disillusioned Africans who know the truth, and whose throats will one day be cut to silence them.

Communist Bastions; not Embassies

This is the essence of the Communist reality, which the "realism" invoked for the recognition of Peking completely ignored: Communist Embassies are not centers of diplomatic activity, but are rather strongholds of subversion in those countries where they are established.

The Western embassies in Communist nations, respectful of the diplomatic code and confronted with a sealed society, are completely powerless to exercise a "presence" worthy of the name. The converse is entirely different. In the open, dilettante atmosphere of the Free World, Communist embassies, with absolute lack of scruples regarding the rules of non-intervention, are emphatically "present" and perform their work of agitation and subversion, penetrating deeply the society which surrounds them.

This is a known fact. As the Communist Parties are not normal political entities, but rather foreign detachments of the Soviet or Chinese totalitarian States, so are the Communist States not normal governments, springing from the consensus of the people, but totalitarian conspiracies disguised as States, concerned only with the universal establishment of their system of power. It should then not be any surprise to find their Embassies simply relays of the corresponding totalitarian apparatus; relays which meddle more impudently in the political life of the countries to which they are accredited when such countries are less developed, less aggressive in the enforcement of diplomatic decencies — and also less provided with militant indigenous Communists, so Moscow and Peking must rely more heavily on diplomatic personnel to implement their program of agitation and subversion.

In Lome, Togo, where Communist activities are outlawed, the Soviet Embassy opened two libraries and an outdoor cinema. In these establishments, numerous pamphlets, brochures and pictures are sold by a host of native children. Forty counters exhibit selected Communist products priced well below cost, to create the illusion that the African people are swindled by the Westerners.

The ambassador to Uruguay, Serguei Striganov, veteran of many political warfare campaigns, serves as paymaster for local subversive agents and holds open house for propagandists and counterfeits, who are effectively under his orders. His attache, Alexis Letendorff, was notorious for his efforts to divide the Argentine Socialist Party. Local members of the Communist Party print, store and pick up their tracts, posters, and even their membership cards, at "The Embassy." They even omit the designation "Soviet" in Montevideo, and can be observed openly entering and leaving by the main door every day, from 9:00 A.M. to noon, and from 3:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.

The principal native agitator in Leopoldville, the Congo, former student Antoine Tchimanga, on his return from two years of "activist" studies in the USSR, went so far as to establish his personal office in the Soviet

Embassy headed by His Excellency Serge Nemchina, a master espionage agent conspicuous for his operations in the Near East. Here this peculiar student received his callers, paid his informers, supplied his distributors and instructed his organizers. The direct participation of the Soviet Embassy in a plot to overthrow President Adoula was established by documents seized from two Soviet diplomats, arrested as they returned to Leopoldville from Brazzaville where they had gone to confer with Christophe Gbenye, one of the Congolese directors of local subversive activities. The documents provided proof of Soviet financing by provision of a sizeable sum to hire five hundred Congolese soldiers, and the inclusion of a list of Congolese political leaders marked for assassination. This was interference so blatant that President Adoula closed the Embassy and expelled the Communist diplomats, after having cut off their water, gas and electricity for one day.

An incident in Guinea provides what is probably the prize example of Communist duplicity. The government of Sekou Toure entrusted Czechoslovakia with the printing of its national currency. The Czechs simply printed a few more packages than the quantity designated in the contract and sent them by diplomatic pouch to their Ambassador in Conakry, who used them to pay his subversive agents. Discovery of this intrigue was one of the major causes of the coolness toward the Communist bloc, now exhibited by Sekou Toure.

To this colorful collection of Communist embassies serving as *foci* of infection should be added two more; not because they are more vicious, but because their activities have been more fully exposed. About the Soviet Embassy in Rangoon, capital of Burma, we have the extraordinary testimony of one Krasnatcheiev, an agent specially trained for the career of diplomat-conspirator, which is the role of all employees of the Foreign Affairs Ministries of the Communist countries, when on foreign assignments. When Krasnatcheiev succeeded in defecting to the Free World, a stenographic transcript of his detailed experiences was published in a brochure, which relates more substantial truth about Communism than twenty volumes of eulogistic doctrinal sovietology.

He first discloses that all the embassy staff, even the twenty percent not officially part of the secret police, have the primary duty of spying on the country in which they are stationed. Then he tells of special equipment in the Embassy — that wonderful institution of “coexistence” among peoples: a special printing press, capable of forging currency, and three powerful radio transmitters. Krasnatcheiev testifies that he personally observed bundles of money and propaganda distributed by such “Soviet diplomacy” to Burmese Communists, providing names and dates. He cites in particular the

Burmese U Ba Nyein, head of the United National Front. This, or a similar title will invariably identify an organization having Communist backing, with Soviet diplomats backing the Communists. U Ba Nyein received this type of "aid" from Bodoshan Gafurov, a special member of the Soviet parliamentary "friendship delegation" which visited Burma in January of 1959. Friendship delegations from Communist Countries are always lavishly staffed with secret agents.

Krasnatcheiev recalls the detailed instructions from Moscow, conveyed by the Embassy for the assistants of the guerrillas who were harassing the Burmese government; the government upon which it was simultaneously lavishing its rigmarole of "peaceful coexistence." He also describes the special sections in the Soviet Embassy charged with the animation and control of Youth Movements, Student Unions, Women's Circles and similar Burmese organizations.

Castro: an Apt Scholar

Two incidents have illuminated the situation in Cuba, where the bearded dictator's heart inclines toward China, although his empty purse is held out to Moscow. A diplomat's defection and an unrelated airplane accident have combined to lift the veil on the conspiratorial and criminal unrest which emanates from Cuban Embassies.

Pedro L. Roy Ortega, a commercial attache of the Cuban Embassy in Mexico, chose freedom in May of 1962. In the newspaper Ultimas Noticias of May 13, 1962, he describes how his department organized and covered up the shipment of armaments to Cuba, and how the Cuban Ambassador hired Mexican policemen to secure information about anti-Castroites; to obtain "favors" and "omissions of inquiries" for pro-Castroites. "In four months," says Ortega, "I distributed nearly a million dollars to designated Mexicans for missions of which I had no knowledge. The last payment I was directed to make was an amount of \$120,000." It was later discovered that this payment was to facilitate "raids" on Mexican territory, designated as the "parachutist" movement.

A Peruvian air catastrophe was even more replete with spicy revelations. Raul Cepero Bonilla, Castro's Minister of Commerce, was found among the dead in a VARIG plane which crashed November 27, 1962, near Lima. Bonilla, then director of the Central Bank of Cuba, and serving as courier for top secret diplomatic documents, was returning from a Congress held in Rio de Janeiro under auspices of the United Nations. In his

attache case were found letters from a mysterious Gerardo, directed to an equally obscure Petronio in Havana. Gerardo was soon identified as Miguel Brugueras del Valle, a fanatical Communist serving as cultural attache at the Cuban Embassy in Rio, and secret police agent in charge of contacts with the "Brazilian Peasant Leagues" of Juliao, intermediary of the Brazilian Clodomir dos Santos Moraes.

The writer of the letters mentioned in detail the training camps of subversion in the Brazilian states of Mato Grosso, Goias, Maranhão, Rio, Bahia and Rio Grande do Sul. The correspondence revealed conclusively that the Cuban cultural attache, Miguel Bragueras, alias Gerardo, was paymaster and the source of orders for the Peasant League in Brazil. The complaints of the Brazilian League leaders were addressed directly to Gerardo, and not to the Brazilian National Communists, Clodomir dos Santos or Juliao. The organic dependence of Juliao's League on the Cuban Communist network is thus amply demonstrated.

Another letter detailed exact locations of guerrilla concentrations, a topographical study of the region, and information about the "social situation," the recruitment, organization, orientation and political assistance of the Brazilian movements, and again verified the obedience of Juliao's Leagues to the Castro-Chinese apparatus.

Even before the VARIG plane crash, the Peruvians and Chileans had discovered dismaying documents concerning the interference by the Cuban Embassies in their internal political affairs. Lists, covering dozens of pages, furnished names and exact amounts received by professors, journalists, union officials, Communist and non-Communist agitators for propaganda, subversion and other services. Also discovered were detailed reports of liaisons initiated by the Cuban Embassy for espionage, and to intoxicate and confuse the national intellectual, political and labor forces. The most lamentable aspect of the disclosure was the complete failure of the undermined governments to take any measures against their underminers.

This forbearance resulted in such extremes as the open intervention by the Cuban Embassy in the Bolivian miners' strike of August, 1963. Castro's Embassy openly encouraged the strikers to revolt, synchronized by Radio Havana, which broadcast precise instructions about meetings and attacks, in several instances specifying the Cuban Embassy as the place of assembly. There the miners' leaders received light arms, and funds of some \$160,000. Wave after wave of tracts poured from the Embassy's special printing press. The most sardonic aspect of the whole affair was the occasion for the rioting: promulgation of a very liberal reform plan for the mines!

Preliminary Maneuvers

Even before the establishment of widespread embassies in emulation of their Soviet elders, whose accomplishments they are eager to surpass, the Chinese Communists sent commercial, athletic, artistic and military missions to the Dark Continent. At the great Tunisian fair in 1962, their exhibit was more extensive than that of the United States, with a propaganda agent for every yard of silk. The celebrated circus troupe of the Chinese Opera traversed the continent, leaving stacks of Communist propaganda in each village. Each year, dozens of African delegations are invited to China, where they are meticulously guided through the artificial world created for visitors. Plans for these occasions are so carefully worked out that there are eight categories of receptions, dependent on the distinction of the guests. Numerous organizations, institutes, circles and friendship associations have been created in China to attract Africans and Latin Americans. Chinese short wave radios transmit programs in numerous vernacular languages, intended solely for Africans, over one hundred hours a week. All this effort would be enormously simplified if Peking could utilize the regular, privileged radio channels of Embassies established in all the countries of the Third World; and as the people of Africa and Latin America are so vulnerable to simple, emotional slogans, the planting of Communist Chinese Embassies in their capitals would be analogous to planting torches in powder kegs.

President Tsiranana of Madagascar is peculiarly aware of this situation because certain Chinese elements of his island population are already engaging in agitation. He is well aware of their formidable potential if, following recognition, they could be taken directly in hand by a septic embassy.

Choice: Good or Evil?

The leaders of the other African nations, especially the French-speaking countries which tend to follow Paris' example, would do well to meditate long and carefully before making the crucial choice between the wisdom of Tsiranana and the folly of de Gaulle. It was an error fraught with danger for France, strong and well policed, to grant Chinese Communism the privilege of installing embassies in its territory. For the weak and adolescent nations of Africa and Latin America it would be suicide.

It would be all the more lamentable if, by establishing diplomatic relations with Mao, they should jeopardize their contacts with the real China, the Nationalist regime, with which they already have, and can continue to

enjoy, normal, honest and fruitful diplomatic relations in complete tranquility. The exemplary Free Chinese government, lacking the messianic fervor of the Communists which brings only ruin and despair, has achieved outstanding reforms in the three areas vital to underdeveloped countries, health, education and agriculture. These reforms are genuine, and peculiarly adaptable to African conditions; moreover, the Republic of China or Taiwan has no ambitions beyond unselfish assistance to all whose aspiration is the genuine progress of their people.

Admission of Red China to The United Nations?

France's recognition of Communist China implies a sequel: French engagement in the persistent effort to secure admission of Red China to the United Nations, as a logical extension of its credulous grant of diplomatic recognition to Peking.

The consequences of such an admission would be ruinous.

First of all, it would provoke very serious dissension among the Western powers.

If France were to support such admission as a natural consequence of its recognition of Peking, joined by a sufficient number of its African friends to reverse the majority which has until now opposed it, the United States, Germany, and other Atlantic States would rise in their wrath, threatening to shatter the Atlantic Alliance. A substantial body of American opinion takes the position that, if Peking is admitted to the United Nations, Washington should withdraw. And so the Communist States would be

treated to the delectable spectacle of the Western powers quarreling among themselves about favors which some wish to grant them, and which others oppose.

Chain Aggressions

It would also establish the precedent that, when the United Nations has branded a nation an aggressor, such designation is not to be taken seriously and implemented by quarantine of the culprit. It is important to note that Communist China is the only State which has been officially so condemned, in a resolution adopted by eighty percent of the United Nations members. It is difficult to understand how the application of this epithet could have been avoided, confronted with the list of aggressions committed by the Red Chinese:

- a) massive aid to the Vietminh in its war against France;
 - b) brutal invasion of South Korea, directed against the United Nations forces, rationalized by the shameful lie of American "bacterial warfare;"
 - c) subversion and guerrilla warfare in Burma;
 - d) atrocious genocide in Tibet;
 - e) deliberate attack against peaceful India in the Himalayas, where six thousand Sikhs were massacred in a single day;
 - f) bloody guerrilla warfare in Laos;
 - g) intensive bombardments of Quemoy and Matsu;
 - h) terrorism, slaughter and guerrilla activity in South Vietnam;
 - i) direct assistance to terrorism and subversion in Africa and Latin America;
 - j) training and arming Indonesian guerrillas unleashed in Borneo against the Malaysian Federation;
 - k) intensive utilization of the opium traffic as an instrument of national policy;
- . . . and in general, pursuit of the theory and practice of violence and "wars of liberation" as fundamental instruments of international politics.

Three counts of the foregoing indictment especially warrant further discussion.

The exceptional horror of the Chinese invasion of Tibet is noteworthy. News emphasis shifts rapidly. The press is frivolous, especially when it comes to closing the page on Communist crimes. People quickly forget

even major blows against humanity. When a king was executed, the aristocrats have nursed their hatred of the regicides for a century; but when a people is massacred, how long do democrats hold their rancor toward the democides! It is five years since the unprovoked invasion of Tibet, a uniquely peaceful nation. How many now recall the chain massacres, the public tortures and degradations of the monks and nuns, the burning of temples, and the indignities and exactations without number? The perpetrators were not, it should be emphasized, irresponsible bands of marauders drunk with violence, but regular troops of the Chinese State, coldly performing these atrocities under orders from Peking. The International Commission of Jurists, accredited consultants to the United Nations, made a complete, objective and detailed report on these outrages and concluded in its official report "that man has not known for centuries so cruel an oppression against a people."

The aggression against India deserves special mention. It was with Mr. Nehru that Chou En-lai met at New Dehli in 1954 to sign, with much pomp and ceremony, the "Pact of the Five Points." It was Nehru who was vocal in guaranteeing the peaceful nature of Peking, and consistently displayed the warmest friendship for Red China. And yet it was Indian territory, basking in peaceful tranquility, that was suddenly invaded in 1962 by swarms of Chinese troops, who ruthlessly exterminated the thin curtain of Indian defense forces and annexed two hundred thousand square kilometers of land commanding the Indian plains.

Late in 1960 the United States narcotics commissioner, Harry S. Anslinger, published a report which was discussed by the Competent Commission of the United Nations. Other revelations were considered, originating in Switzerland and Japan. These disclosures persuaded the responsible heads of all governments to agree that it was no longer possible to ignore direct control of the international traffic in opium by the Peking government. It is Peking, the high Areopagist, which cultivates the poppy, extracts the drug, arranges its transportation, opens the opium dens, consummates the illicit sales and controls the global drug market. Its goals are threefold: to acquire funds, to enslave agents, and to deprave the Free World. For the first time in the history of mankind, the chief magistrates of a major State have become patrons of the vilest of underworld activities. After all, isn't it easier to transport drugs in diplomatic pouches?

If such a dossier fails to disqualify a United Nations candidate; if the United Nations admits into its very bosom malefactors so depraved, who have so systematically violated every precept of international law and human decency; then it can no longer be asserted that the United Nations is a tribunal charged with preserving law. In such an event, the United Na-

tions will have become simply an assembly of all those who are in control of States, in whatever manner that control has been gained, and to whatever ends it is directed. But in that case, what purpose would be served by such a convocation, in which thieves sit . . . if not to ensnare the honest?

Chain Vetoes

It is necessary to consider the concrete implications of Communist Chinese membership in the United Nations. A permanent seat on the Security Council, with the right of veto, currently occupied with dignity by a representative of Chiang Kai-shek, would be preempted by a deputy of Mao Tse-tung. The surrogates of Stalin, and later Khrushchev, have paralyzed the organization by their vetos ninety-two times in twelve years. But the entire world is aware that Peking regards the rulers of Moscow as feeble opportunists, rotten with complaisance toward the West. The Chinese Reds have proclaimed *urbi et orbi* that they will once again unfurl the flag of revolutionary purity and intractability. It will therefore be necessary for them to display a far greater intransigence in order to "save face." Instead of ninety-two vetos in twelve years, an equivalent number might well be anticipated in one year. What opportunity would the Security Council then retain for constructive action?

Consider the United Nations interventions during the past two years, without regard to their wisdom or folly. Would any of these actions have been possible with Communist China exercising the veto power? Even when these interventions were anti-Western, China would have so inflated and dramatized them as to present them as unthinkable. Any debate would have been completely disrupted by marximalism, demagoguery and the devouring imperative to unleash the "class warfare on the international plane," according to Mao's official breviary.

The General Assembly could anticipate complete chaos with participation by Mao's China. No longer would there be a risk of Afro-Asian States, disillusioned by Moscow, returning to the camp of the Free World. Oh, no! There would be another, purer and harder champion of anti-imperialism to take them in hand. The Third World would be continually excited to a state of maximum agitation against the West. China would not stop short of resolutions demanding the dispatch of Blue Helmets to Morocco, to West Berlin, to Mississippi, and to the South Pole. An organization designed to preserve peace would be transformed into a volcano to ignite all the fires of discord, since Mao's doctrine holds that Communism cannot triumph without internal divisions in the Free World; and his theory of the "negative example" provides that if such divisions are mitigated, new ones must be created.

Devils in the United Nations

It would seem the United Nations can inspire only the most restrained confidence, precisely because it now includes Communist States whose delegates daily violate the rules of international conduct upon which this high tribunal is founded. Heretofore, representatives of the Free World who respect these rules have succeeded, with great difficulty and by a steadily decreasing margin, in preserving some elements of decency and efficiency. However, if Stalinist China were admitted to this already fragile structure, dangerously vacillating between impotency and hypocrisy, it would completely collapse, burying in its debris the ideals it should have embodied. Those who embrace these ideals; who still want the United Nations to overcome its demons and become a useful world force — a desire shared by most of the Third World — must resolutely close its gates to Communist China.

This remains a practical possibility if the French oriented African countries will continue to withhold recognition. Even France, which has taken the first unfortunate step of recognition, could if she wished balk at the second fatal plunge: admission of Peking to the United Nations — an action which would introduce a venom into that already ailing organism from which it would not recover.

An Odd Sort of Realism

Repeated over and over is the cliché: diplomatic recognition of Communist China signifies nothing more than a determination to see the world as it is. To the contrary, it consists precisely in seeing a world of idealistic fantasy, in which Communist China is not really Communist.

The power of Mao is recognized, but universally ignored are the acts of Mao, the philosophy of Mao, the guerrilla activities supported by Mao, the aggressions of Mao, and the driving force of Mao: his Stalinist style of Communism.

The wishful thinkers close their eyes to the internal terror, the external aggressions, the embassies serving as centers of global subversion, the poison it would introduce into the United Nations, the disapproval of Western allies, and to the division of the Free World. In brief, they see a completely inverted realism which provides what it emphatically does not need — the consecration of a Stalinist Power, and avoids what it urgently requires — sleepless vigilance concerning the undertakings of that Power.

They are again practicing the realism which consists in recognizing Hitler, but refusing to read "Mein Kampf"; in recognizing Mao, but ignoring his *leitmotif*:

"War is politics with blood.
Politics is war without blood."

THE END

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